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585 age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation.
[183] Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure.
[584] Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember mokos and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage, although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first moko payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently where sexual material is treated in greater detail.

602 If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making
583 the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowry return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun him for further kafuk payments as they need them. The liquidation of the bride-price and dowry terms may take the better part of a lifetime. Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called paheh and fila type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The
[185] number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value, but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is involved in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establishment of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young
[587] man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests to which such a marriage exposes him.

431 In addition to the larger bride-price–dowry exchanges there are
583 the so-called free gifts (*punghe* and *siengma*). Actually, the punghe
602 gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated conversely, these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be represented by a minimum of four punghe gifts, which means four piglets. The corresponding siengma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contribute to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping
431 affinal kin may begin by giving punghe gifts before he pays his first
602 real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

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moko. With that in hand he could begin to accumulate a new bride-price, by lending it at interest to Maliseni. Thereby he would be one step nearer to buying the girl on whom his heart meanwhile had become set. These financial transactions must have been highly frustrating to Atamau and the girl whom he wished to marry. They also gave rise to, or were the means of expressing, hostility between a father and son, and they laid the rejected girl open to a good deal of sly teasing from young men about her desirability and the reason for her marriage to an older man.

Senlaka's experiences in trying to break into financial life were perhaps even more frustrating and discouraging than those of Atamau. When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he had spent a season working hard in his and his parents' gardens. After a good maize harvest had been tied into bundles and stored in the loft, his parents, partly to reward him and partly to start him on his financial career, gave him a piglet. Senlaka devoted himself to its care. He kept it penned and gathered food to fatten it rapidly. When it was worth a five-dollar moko, instead of allowing Senlaka to contribute it to a feast for a return payment in mokos, his father confiscated it for one of his own death feasts, saying it was Senlaka's duty to contribute to their family ceremonies.

Senlaka was furious but helpless. He swore he would never again raise pigs, a vow that he kept stubbornly for years. Meanwhile his father died, but there was an older brother who had to buy a wife first. When I knew Senlaka he was twenty-six, still unmarried, and as sensitive on that score as all boys in Atimelang. For a young man of his age to be unmarried is considered even more of a social disability than for a debutante who has been out ten years. Luckily Senlaka was a good houseboy and the salary he received from me permitted him to buy a moko from a coastal man who was pressed for tax money and to acquire a couple of pigs. The special inducement for launching once more on a financial career was a girl from Karieta with whom he had fallen in love. He contributed his pigs as dowry payments on some female kin and expected the higher bride-price in return. However, he lent his moko at interest to Maliseni, the same financier who figured in the preceding anecdote and one notoriously skilled in financial chicanery.

To add to Senlaka's difficulties his future brothers-in-law were planning a large death feast for their father. They counted on their only sister's bride-price as one of the chief sources of income for the event. Night after night when Senlaka went to see the girl, her kin berated him for his slowness in paying his bride-price and threatened to sell their sister to another man. They even demanded that he pay the whole

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183 ties. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to
593 be modal.

593 One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Atimelang is
833 that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinsmen, so that men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration. However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships. Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes. In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men
[556 when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in
634] the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification. It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation to "pulling in gongs and mokos," so that continence is not required of their husbands to assure success in financial transactions.

582 On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is
[881 considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First
884] menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having borne children before their periods set in.* Not every girl, of course, marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of
[582] sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to boys socially much less trying.

581 The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course the matter is relative. In the case of Atamau, previously cited, his overt objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations. The chief of Atimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair
[582] and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

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593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
433 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

831 It is interesting that Fantan, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and Malalaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kebola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and mokos in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[624] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[584] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended fathe:

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159 787 In another dream I went to cut weeds. Mailang [a Lebe man] brought four new pieces of cloth and gave them to me, saying, "Later you can give me five cents for these." [This was a ludicrously low price.] This means that the weeds will be very thick in my garden. I dreamed this because yesterday I was weeding. If the cloth had been for shrouds, the dream would have meant that my rice would die. Now I will have a good crop, because heavy weeds mean the rice too is growing profusely. If the weeds grow fast I shall pull them out.

159 582 [What do you want to talk about?] I want to talk about a woman I almost married. I was still a young man when my father gave Berkalani a Tamamia moko. My father and I went together to dun for its payment. They wanted to give me a woman instead. I said, "Oh, it is my father's moko. I am here only to help him dun." In two or three days the uncle of a woman came to talk to me, saying, "If Berkalani gives you a moko, leave it here as a bride-price." This girl's family was being dunned for a moko by other people, so they wanted to make a deal. But I said, "This does not belong to me. I shall have to take it back to my father." My father had already left, and I stayed on to get the moko. In two or three more days the uncle came to me again and said the girl was very fond of me and did not want any other man. He said I had better leave the moko and go back with the woman. In another two or three days the same thing happened. [He was relating this with much relish.] The girl's uncle gave a dance for his corn harvest. That night the woman came to me and without saying anything put six areca nuts in my basket. In the morning the woman said to me, "I have sent my elders to ask you and now I come myself." She spoke to me in my dialect, and I spoke to her in hers. We joked together in this way. I talked so much with her my mouth was tired. I was sitting on my host's verandah resting, when I heard the woman say to her mother, "Mother, I have talked to this man; he does not want to marry me." After that her family got a Kolmale moko from Rualmelang, and she married there. She is still there.

159 [When did you first sleep with a woman?] I first slept with a girl from Karieta. We hid ourselves in the fields. Then I made a house for her and she lived there with her mother and father. They started raising chickens and pigs there. I slept there too. Then Fanalurka came and spoke crookedly to that woman, saying she should marry him. He talked crookedly to me, saying the woman wanted to marry someone else. So I went to sleep in another house. She sent word to me, saying, "Perhaps we don't cook good food in this house?" So I went back to

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X 159 rather than to condone it. His father is always mentioned as the cure of his ills. If he got into trouble his father got him out. However, his father did not condone Rilpada's lack of skill; the boy got many scoldings and on one occasion a castration threat, not for a sexual misdemeanor, but for lack of skill in rat hunting.

Rilpada's relations to his mother are less distinct. He slept with her until he was six or seven. He often disobeyed her, and once shot a bird arrow at her and injured her. This was the occasion of his running away; but his father coaxed him back after two months' absence, and he found both parents forgiving and understanding. He once attacked his father when his sympathies were aroused by unjust treatment of his mother.

His father died when Rilpada was about twenty-seven, and only on this single occasion does Rilpada present himself as an important person.

The account of his attitude toward his brothers is devoid of details, but in the few episodes he does narrate, hostility is obvious. He does not mention his two older brothers until he is asked about them. He refused to take care of the younger brother, but he does tell of one episode in which he was getting the worst of a fight when his younger brother, six years his junior, came to his aid. He likewise neglects his younger sister. On one occasion when the younger sister was creating a great to-do by refusing to marry the man to whom she was contracted, Rilpada (age thirty) attempted the role of paterfamilias but failed badly. He was totally ineffectual.

His relations with women are likewise bad. In fact, they hardly count at all. Four times he mentions playing with girls, and in connection with three of them he recounts some untoward incident. He enters into relationship with a girl for the first time at seventeen. He offers to build her a house and she proposes to him. He accepts and steals a moko from his father. His father detects the theft but nevertheless offers to help Rilpada collect his bride-price.* But he loses the girl anyhow to another suitor. He denies having had intercourse with her, and we can well believe him.

His next relationship is one in which he and a girl exchange sexes. She sends a go-between and again he is willing. His father helps him with bride-price arrangements. Five days later the girl comes to sleep with him. He is away on an errand and when he returns he finds her in his

[58] * In several of the biographies very inhibited men make an early effort to get a
[59] bride-price or ill in preparation for marriage. These efforts usually occur immediately after adolescence and represent impulsive to acquire status rather than a need for a sexual mate. Several of these precocious efforts are followed by a long history of troubled relations with women owing largely to deep anxiety provoked by them.